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ABSTRACT

Swedish research and opinion on bilingualism, language policy, and bilingual education in Sweden is reviewed. The Swedish debate on language planning and bilingual education revolves around two perspectives: structural-functional theory and conflict theory. Swedish research consists primarily of statistical and descriptive studies rather than hypothesis testing. It is generally policy oriented and written from a structural-functional perspective. A distinction is drawn between language cultivation and language policy approaches to issues of language planning. Most of the decisions about the schooling of immigrant children in Sweden have been policy decisions which cannot be assessed according to linguistic criteria. Issues addressed by Swedish bilingual education research include semilingualism, biculturalism and contrastive culture, Swedish xenophobia, medium of instruction, third language learning, and linguistics. A bibliography is appended. (RW)

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Swedish research and debate about bilingualism

A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE SWEDISH RESEARCH AND DEBATE ABOUT BILINGUALISM AND BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN SWEDEN FROM AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

A Report to the National Swedish Board of Education

CHRISTINA BRATT PAULSTON

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Sweden is an immigration country. Within a few decades, Swedish society has been transformed from ethnic homogeneity and virtual monolingualism to heterogeneity and a plurality of languages.

The aims of Swedish immigrant policy are summed up in the terms Equality, Freedom of Choice, and Partnership. There is no royal road to the achievement of these aims. Sweden now has many nationalities and languages, and here as in all immigration countries, language questions occupy a prominent position.

In its research and development and in other contexts, the National Board of Education tries to shed the broadest possible light on the many questions relating to language instruction for immigrants, i.e. teaching of and in both home languages (mother tongues) and Swedish. It is in the nature of things that researchers, like others, should differ in their opinions and in their approaches to research on bilingualism. The NBE, however, has attached much importance to these questions and has decided to commission a researcher of international standing, independent of Swedish research and the Swedish debate, to examine Swedish research on bilingualism and the debate arising out of it. This assignment was entrusted to Professor Christina Bratt Paulston of the University of Pittsburgh. Professor Sten Henrysson of the Department of Education, Umeå University, has similarly acted on behalf of the NBE in contacting research institutions in Sweden and collecting material from them. The report was presented to the NBE in October 1982 and was studied in seminars and discussions at the NBE during the same month.

Professor Bratt Paulston is solely responsible for the report and the conclusions which it contains. The NBE finds her work and her discussion both interesting and useful. By publishing the report internationally as well as in Sweden, the NBE hopes to contribute towards the maintenance of an open and vigorous debate on matters relating to bilingualism.

Parallel to the publication of this report, the NBE has submitted to the Government a report on its evaluation of modified time schedules at the junior and intermediate levels of compulsory school for home language (mother tongue) instruction. In that report the NBE declares its standpoints concerning certain aspects of bilingual instruction in Swedish schools. The NBE wishes however to stress its endorsement of Professor Bratt Paulston's view that language questions are only one aspect, albeit a very important one, of the realization of the aims of Swedish immigrant policy. In its annual estimates, the NBE also presents experience and findings concerning other aspects.

Stockholm, October 1982

Lennart Orehag
Director General

Inger Marklund
Head of Research Division

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Preface

The debate concerning the education of immigrants and minorities in Sweden is both lively and emotional. Research results are often alluded to in this debate in such a way that teachers, parents, those who make the decisions and others who are interested, find the arguments confusing and contradictory.

In January 1982, the National Swedish Board of Education asked Professor Christina Bratt Paulston to examine the Swedish research and the debate about bilingualism in migrant education in Sweden and relate these to international research. The task was not an easy one and required a good working knowledge of Swedish conditions and also of a number of university disciplines. Christina Bratt Paulston was especially suitable for this task since she grew up in Sweden, where she matriculated, and has Swedish as her first language. She has an academic background in both Linguistics and Behavioural Sciences, a wide experience of bilingual education and an established reputation in international research in this field. She has demonstrated her wide-ranging experience and knowledge in several critical reviews. Her aim in this report is to give as clear answers as possible and therefore she does not express herself in the neutral, compromising tone which is so common in Sweden.

At the same time the National Swedish Board of Education asked me in my capacity as Professor of the Department of Education, University of Umeå, to act as the contact in Sweden and to facilitate the collection of research reports and of other material. Requests for material were sent to those departments, institutes and persons who were concerned in such work. Material collected and sent to Christina Bratt Paulston in this manner is listed in the appendix.

The report is written in English but will also be published in Swedish. Inger Henrysson of the Department of English, University of Umeå, has translated the report into Swedish and this translation has been approved by Christina Bratt Paulston.

Umeå, October 1982
Sten Henrysson
Professor, Department
of Education

Introduction

In the world of Academia and science, scholars are used to the often contradictory claims and results of their research. Different theories lead to different problem formulations and so to different answers, and this is a normal condition of scholarly life. We don't look for truth so much as for alternative explanations. To the layman, to the man in the street, this attitude comes across often enough as a reluctance or inability to give straight answers to simple questions, and when the layman is at the same time someone who must make serious decisions affecting people's life, the matter of interpretation of research takes on some urgency.

Throughout the world, the results of research on the bilingual schooling of children are contradictory and confusing, (Center for Applied Linguistics, 1977; Engle, 1975; Paulston, 1977) even beyond what could normally be expected in the way of contradictory data. The reasons for this confusion stem from several factors of which the following three are probably the most important.

1. The role and function of a specific language in the socialization of children easily become an emotional matter. Language touches deep roots in nationalism and ethnic membership, and it is naive to believe that all researchers remain immune to such influences. Some do not, and the research literature on bilingual education from all corners of the world occasionally carries an aspect of *jihad* 'holy war', of fighting the just fight against the oppressor. It makes for a high selectivity in choosing data.

2. There is a pervasive tendency to confuse linguistic factors with socio-political factors in the discussions of the bilingual schooling of children. The research findings are quite clear on one point (Paulston, 1975): upper and middle class children do quite well whether they are schooled in the mother tongue or in a second language (L_2) although we don't really know why that is so. The Canadian immersion programs (Lambert and Tucker, 1972) with their middleclass children show us how

well children can manage their schooling in two or even three languages *under certain conditions*. It is the focus on the language rather than on the social conditions which skews the data and confuses the issues. Language problems in education are almost always corollaries of the social problems of ethnic groups in contact and competition, but there is a strong tendency for educators to concentrate on the immediate and overt linguistic problems of the children as the causal factor.

3. This tendency to ascribe causal factors to language is also reflected in the research designs. Virtually all the research on bilingual education treats the bilingual education program as the independent or causal variable, as the factor which accounts for certain results. But one must also consider the problems of bilingual education as the result of certain societal factors rather than as just the cause of certain behaviors in children. Studies which treat the bilingual program as the independent variable (like the Canadian immersion programs and Mackey's J. F. Kennedy school in Berlin) carry in and by themselves very little generalizability to other programs as Mackey (1972) is careful to point out. Educators and decision makers need a wider view in making policy decisions and to that purpose, this report addresses itself.

Objectives of the report

The purpose of this report is "to examine the Swedish research and debate about bilingualism in migrant education in Sweden" (NBE Dnr L 81: 784). The objectives of such an examination is to attempt to sort out rhetorics from facts, ideology from data, local mythology from general linguistic findings, and to try to interpret the Swedish situation of migrant education from an international perspective as this situation is reflected in the research. The international perspective is useful, not because Sweden is particularly provincial, but because such a view allows a measure of generalizability to the Swedish research which by research design frequently does not allow for generalizations: the program is almost always the independent variable. (There are many studies from a sociological perspective on migrant problems which have high generalizability but they don't look at migrant education, a fairly typical situation.)

Procedures

The report deals basically with the Swedish research studies, monographs, journal articles, student essays, and research reports which deal with bilingual education. The Department of Education at the University of Umeå at the request of the National Board of Education (NBE)

contacted Swedish researchers and collected these studies which were sent to me. (See Appendix) It seems a very thorough collection but it is possible that some minor work, students' essays, etc. may be missing. It is very unlikely that any major studies are missing.[1]

I spent two weeks in March of 1982 visiting schools and classrooms in Stockholm and Södertälje during which time I interviewed superintendents and principals, teachers and staff of the Greek and Finnish Associations. I spoke to experts at the National Board of Education, in the Commission on Immigration Research (EIFO) and at the Universities. I spoke to immigrants in the street. In short, I systematically attempted to place the Swedish research within a framework of human life, of professional people who had a job to get done, of human beings with dreams and aspirations.

I have not given equal weight to every single study. I have focused on studies with primary data and on the whole ignored studies with secondary sources, work which discuss the literature, like Baetens Beardsmore, *Bilingualism, Basic Principles* (1982), Ekstrand, *Sex Differences in Second Language Learning: Empirical Studies and a Discussion of Related Findings* (1980), Skutnabb-Kangas, *Tvåspråkighet* (Bilingualism) (1981), Takač, *Tvåspråkighet hos invandrarelever* (Bilingualism among migrant pupils) Part One. (1974), and my own *Bilingual Education: Theories and Issues* (1980). Many of these studies are written with the express purpose of making policy recommendations and are biased and selective in their choice of primary data. Especially distressing is the degree to which the writings of academic students have been allowed to mirror such bias without any support of scientific data. One has a right to expect a certain degree of scientific objectivity in student papers, which are after all exercises in scientific thinking, but so is frequently not the case. These also I have chosen to ignore. My wish is not to enter into the extremely, even for the field of bilingual education, acrimonious Swedish debate, but rather to extrapolate such facts and trends on which all can agree.

1. See also the bibliographies by Schwarz (1976) and by Hammar and Lindby (1979).

Researcher viewpoint

By necessity, when one person attempts to interpret so diverse a field as the research and debate on bilingual education, there are bound to be conflicting views and interpretations of the same phenomena. It is important then, for an accurate interpretation of my report that the reader understand the particular viewpoint from which I write.

My basic perspective is that of linguistics which is my academic discipline. Interest and inclination have caused me to read extensively in anthropology and sociology, and it is by now my considered opinion that most language problems at the national level find more satisfactory explanations within a framework of social, economic and political factors than they do within a purely linguistics approach. As far as data are concerned, I consider as good data any systematic and sustained observations within a coherent theoretical framework. I am impressed with the technical degree of sophistication of much psychometric research but find many of the findings inadequate in scope to deal with the problems and questions of bilingual education. It is simply *not* so that we can only understand what we can measure, and I doubt that we will ever be able to reduce the most important issues in bilingual education to quantifiable terms. The question is not really whether spending recess in the schoolyard with the migrant children tells me more than looking at their test scores in reading, but rather that we need *both* types of data to best interpret the complex schooling situation of migrant children.

I have long been a staunch advocate of bilingual education, since the days I first worked in the jungles of Peru as a consultant for the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Paulston, 1970; 1972). I tended at first to see bilingual education as a more efficient teaching method, and although it is that too, it became clear to me that in the life and upbringing of children from socially stigmatized groups, such as the American Indians, bilingual education had a powerful social role to play. Today I see the necessity to consider bilingual education from the viewpoint of the group (ethnic,

religious, or national) as well as of the individual and to consider bilingualism within a language shift or language maintenance situation. Bilingualism is the mechanism for language shift, and it is unusual that groups maintain a non-dominant language only for linguistic reasons, only for language loyalty. Language shift in the direction of the language of the dominant group is the most common situation as the massive language shift of immigrants to the United States bears witness of. Bilingual education at the national level is best considered from these perspectives.

Finally I have in many of my writings tended to favor a conflict theory approach with its focus on equity over a structural functional concern with efficiency (Paulston 1980). This same concern for equity has unexpectedly taken me in new directions of thinking about bilingual education in this report. I have surprised myself with the conclusions of this report.

Evaluating language policies in education

Language policies and reforms in education must be evaluated according to their objectives and long range goals. The problem arises as various researchers see alternative interpretations of objectives. I have discussed these issues elsewhere (Paulston 1978a; 1980) but would like to briefly review some of these issues as they shed some light on the Swedish debate. The key point is that each theoretical orientation identifies differently the key variables and their relationship and consequently the answers they seek will differ. They also interpret differently the objectives of bilingual education.

Structural-functional Theory

Structural-functional theory[2], as exemplified by Merton (1957), Homans (1950), and Parsons (1951), has been the dominant theory of social change in American social science and has had a strong influence on the interpretation of education systems and the shaping of U.S. educational reform rationales and goals; the majority of writings on bilingual education in the United States and in Canada fall under this category.

It is certainly the position of the U.S. government. In the so called Bilingual Education Act of 1968, Congress recognized the problems of limited English-speaking children from low income families and spelled out the measures to be taken in order to cope with these problems:

> the Congress declares it to be the policy of the United States, in order to establish equal educational opportunity for all children (A) to encourage the establishment and operation, where appropriate, of educational programs using bilingual educational practices, techniques, and methods, and (B) ... to provide financial assistant to ... educational agencies ... in order to ... develop and carry out such

2. For definitions, see Paulston 1980.

program ... which are designed to meet the educational needs of such children; and of demonstrating effective ways of providing, for children of limited English-speaking ability, instruction designed to enable them, while using their native language, to achieve competence in the English language. (Geffert et al., 1975: 13)

The assumptions are clearly recognizable: 1) the lack of social and economic success on the part of these minority groups is due to (a) "unequal opportunity" as manifest through different language, different culture, and different learning style, and (b) to a lack of scholastic success as a group because of poor English-speaking ability; 2) with the provision of English skills, merit and I.Q. will lead through scholastic skills gained in a "meaningful education" to social and economic success.

The immediate objective of bilingual education programs in the United States is then given: to equalize opportunity for children from limited English-speaking families by compensatory training in English where such training can be theoretically interpreted as a balancing mechanism to enhance social equilibrium, as in this approach "intra-system conflict is usually viewed as pathological, as an indicator of systematic breakdown." (R.G. Paulston, 1976: 13) Larkin, writing from a structural-functional perspective, points out that in a technological society such as the U.S., "equilibrium is maintained by the educational institution," (1970: 113) whose major function is seen as the socialization of youth. According to Larkin, the socialization process is two dimensional. The instrumental aspect is the provision of technical competence: education is to provide the students with salable skills (of which, in the U.S., English language proficiency can be seen as the major skill). The expressive aspect is a "normative orientation in harmony with the values of society," (Larkin, 1970: 113) or in the terminology more frequently found in the literature on bilingual education, facilitating assimilation into the dominant, mainstream culture. "The expressive aspect of the socialization process is socialization of youth to a social order by instilling values necessary for the continuation of the social system." (Larkin, 1970: 113)

Evaluative research on bilingual education reforms in the United States from a structural-functional perspective is characterized by two major assumptions, "unequal opportunity" and "cultural diversity," and these assumptions contribute to give orientation and structure to evaluation studies. The perceived long range goals are those of harmonious integration, in Schermerhorn's (1970) terms, either economic incorporation or cultural assimilation, into the larger society by equalizing opportunity.

The Canadian immersion programs (see Swain and Lapkin, 1981) are very different from the U.S. Title VII programs. The long range goals of the immersion programs especially outside of Quebec, as perceived by

most parents, are maintenance of the family SES quo, and, because of Canadian legislation *vis a vis* language, they see bilingualism in French/English as a necessary condition for their children to compete successfully in the job market. The Canadian researchers, the majority of whom are psychologists, have tended to slight social factors in their research and to minimize the potential conflict situation between the English and French speaking groups, but they do acknowledge that "(t)here is no doubt that the language policy at both the federal and provincial levels of Canadian goverment is helping to provide incentive for English-Canadian parents to enroll their children in French immersion programs." (Cohen & Swain, 1976: 49)

The formal research in Canada primarily seeks to tap the implications which follow from the major assumption underlying the immersion programs: a second language can be learned fluently in the school only if it is used as a medium of instruction, as a means to an end, rather than studied as a subject, as an end in itself. Conseqeuntly, the children are taught from the beginning in the L_2 in language art skills programs similar to those for native speaking children. The extensive testing, primarily by means of standardized tests, which is basically what the immersion research consists of, was undertaken of assure parents (the programs are voluntary) and administrators that the immersion programs work. They do; there is no question at all about the efficacy of the Canadian immersion programs, and if anything, the amazing dexterity and charm of the children as they negotiate in French get lost in the published data. (See e.g. the St. Lambert Study on the proto-type program, Lambert and Tucker, 1972).[3]

Although the U.S. and Canadian research studies are similar in that they see *instruction*, especially *medium of*, as the independent variable and scholastic skills as the dependent variable, they vary in the order of introducing medium of instruction so that the Canadian programs reverse the order of the American $L_1 \rightarrow L_2$ to $L_2 \rightarrow L_1$. Neither *method* nor *teacher* appears as a design variable in the Canadian studies.

We see then that although the United States and Canadian research studies written from a structural-funcational perspective frequently identify the same variables from the range of phenomena within bilingual education and see them in similar relationships, these studies illustrate the point that the underlying assumptions and interpretations of goals so strongly influence the research design, the questions and hence findings that it is only with great caution one can extrapolate from the results of one set of studies to another.

3. The immersion program population is primarily middle class and the results are not generalizable to a general population.

Conflict Theory

Studies of BE reforms using aspects or variants of conflict theory[4] have increased during the last few years. The definition of the problem from a conflict perspective is no longer unequal opportunity *per se* but rather one of structured inequity, of "persistence of poverty, intractability of inequality of incomes and inequality of economic and social opportunity." (Bowles et al., 1975: 263) Unequal opportunity, the existence of which is most certainly not denied, tends to be seen as a result of a condition of inequity rather than as a cause of school failure.

The long range goals of BE reforms, seen from a conflict perspective, follow the definition of the problem from this perspective: to maximize equity in the distribution of wealth, goods and services; hence the emphasis is no longer on *efficiency* but on *equity*. This necessarily leads to a rather fundamental disagreement over the evaluation of bilingual education reforms.

The major assumption which underlies most work written within the conflict paradigm is that BE reforms can only be understood in terms of the relationship between the various interest groups and that relationship is seen as basically one of a power conflict.

Another important question in evaluating reform outcomes from a conflict perspective is *cui bono*?, 'who stands to gain?' (Gramsci, 1957), where "gain" can be operationalized as an indicator of which group benefits in the power struggle. The pious assumption is of course that the children are the ones who stand to gain, with indicators like standardized tests scores on school achievement and self-concept. There are other possible indicators such as suicide rates and marked changes in school attendance figures.

Other obvious indicators are budget allocations and salary schedules. The only studies I know which consider the issue of salaries in bilingual education are Spolsky's: "(The economic) impact on a local poor community cannot be underestimated." (Spolsky, 1974: 57)

Hill-Burnett's (1976) comment that the key to access to a position lies with "the answer to the question of who has the autohority to judge whether the performance meets the standards" then becomes of crucial interest since it is a given that all groups are more or less self-seeking and define "performance" in terms of furthering their own interests.

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4. "This work may be divided into three types of conflict theory—i.e. (1) Marxist and group conflict explanations of socio-economic conflict, (2) cultural revival or revitalization explanations of value conflict, and (3) the somewhat mixed bag of anarchist and anarchist-utopian explanations of institutional conflict and constraints on human development." (R. G. Paulston, 1976: 26)

There is no research on "who has the authority" in bilingual education, on the ideology and ethnic identifaction of administrators who control access to positions. It would seem that *who* holds control over such "authority" will have important implications in the definitions of goals, implementations of programs, and evaluation of outcomes, yet it is a question not asked.

Swedish research on bilingual education

The Swedish research on bilingual education is more similar to the United States' than to Canada's, primarily because the basic situation of schooling minority group children is more similar. However, there are of course differences. A very large part of Swedish research is descriptive and atheoretical in the same way census studies are atheoretical in that they undertake no hypothesis testing, no theory building. This is no criticism; Swedish statistical studies are enormously respected, and Liljegren's and Liljegren and Ullman's reports (1981, 1981, 1981, 1982) are veritable goldmines of factual information on bilingual education in Sweden. Nevertheless, they cannot be typed according to theoretical bias.

Another characteristic of Swedish research is that almost all of it is policy oriented in some fashion, and this also tends to result in the absence of theory building research. (This need not be the case; see e.g. James Cummins' work.) Also different from the U.S. and Canadian research is the sharp dichotomy in Sweden between the policy recommendations. In both the U.S. and Canada, virtually everyone involved in basic or evaluative research on bilingual education is also a firm supporter of the programs. In Sweden, there is at times rather ill-tempered difference between the advocates for monolingual L_1 classes or bilingual classes, and some of this difference is reflected in the theoretical approach. I suspect, although I have not studied this topic, that much of the difference in research on bilingual education in the United States and Sweden is due to research policies with Sweden's almost exclusively centralized, commissioned and sponsored research (Marklund, 1981a, 1981b). The function and motives, in Marklund's terms (n.d.) are different.

Advocates for bilingual classes (Ekstrand, 1981a, b; Löfgren, 1981) tend to write from a structural-functional perspective and accept NBE's objectives in migrant education of active bilingualism so 1) the children can learn better Swedish, 2) develop a harmonic personality, and 3) if needed, readjust to the original culture (Widgren, 1980: 61). Understood as well is the objective of making possible a later indivudal freedom of choice in choosing assimilation into Swedish culture or maintenance of the parents' original culture or biculturalism. (Ekstrand, 1979, 1980) The

program, frequently *medium* of instruction, is treated as the independent variable and scholastic skills as the dependent variable although adjustment and sense of security are other frequent dependent variables. The function of the school is seen to help socialize the children in adjustment to Swedish life and to provide them with skills for useful employment upon school leaving. As usual, these assumptions are not always spelled out. Most of the research is done in Schools of Education, i.e. from a behavorial science perspective with the individual as the unit of research. As Hammar (Hammar and Lindby, 1981: 25) points out, there is very little cooperation between researchers from different disciplines.

Research written from a conflict theory perspective is not as prevalent in Sweden as it is in the United States, presumably because it is difficult to interpret Swedish official guidelines for mothertongue instruction as a power conflict relationship. Nevertheless, some of the research by Finns, although by research design structural-functional, hold asumptions which are typical of group conflict of neo-marxist theory. They see the function of the school, where Swedish is the teching medium, as a mechanism for legitimizing an unequal division of labor, as for example in Skutnabb-Kangas' *Halvspråkighet: ett medel att få invandrarnas barn till löpande bandet?*, 1976 (Semilingualism: a means for getting the immigrants' children to factory assembly lines?) and advocate monolingual schools in Finnish with the objective of language and culture maintenance. In these studies, semilingualism is a basic assumption.

There is a number of studies on value conflict between immigrant and Swedish culture, like Westin's tragi-comical account of attempts to arrange work for some gypsies (1981: 205–28). Swedish culture is homogeneous and intolerant of deviant behavior, as these studies attest to, but there is surprisingly little effort to pursue the role of culture conflict in the schools, but see e.g. Freudenthal's et al., n.d. *Turkar i svensk förort* (Turks in a Swedish suburb).

Cui bono remains unexplored in the conflict theory approach although it is clear from the literature that a very large cadre or service sector has grown up which caters to the needs of immigrants. I don't know how large this sector is nor what the percentage of immigrant members it has, but the immigrant organizations' staff and the mothertongue teachers should be included here. This leads to the situation in which the members of Swedish society who are most familiar with immigrant problems also have a vested interest in maintaining these problems – and their jobs to handle those problems. It is a potential conflict situation which is ignored in the research on bilingual education.[5]

5. I don't mean to give the impression that only those who stand to gain are involved in immigrant affairs; there is in fact a huge general bureaucracy. Westin documents the 15 different bodies involved in providing work for three (sic) gypsies. (1981: 214)

There is also a body of research within the area of bilingual education written by linguists which cannot be typed according to perspective of social science theory. In the United States I think it is fair to say that the majority of linguists writing on bilingual education have written from a sociolinguistic approach, but in Sweden the linguists tend to write and do work on matters of language proper, like typology of negation and contrastive lexicography (Hyltenstam ed., 1979, 1981). Wande points out an area which, to date, has been relatively neglected, i.e. research into immigrant language on a sociolinguistic basis, (1982:4). I cannot even speculate what the significance of this neglect has been; probably the spread of the semilingualism mythology. Bengt Loman's work is a noticeable exception.

I should point out that studies from all approaches have been criticized for "fault-finding" (Löfgren and Ouvinen-Birgerstam, 1980) or in Lithman's term "vicim research" (1981) where their point is that any immigrant behavior which does not confirm to Swedish norms is then interpreted as weakness, incorrectness, imperfection and failure. This point is probably exaggerated; I cannot see myself how one can do evaluation research, the dominant type of research on bilingual education, without reference to some type of norm, either national norms or the norms of a control group, be it norms of behavior, language or test results.

I should like to end this section on theoretical approaches within research on bilingual education with some personal comments of evaluation. My personal preference in the past has lain within a conflict theory perspective, as my own writings bear witness to, as I held such a perspective to carry higher explanatory power. I see now that this opinion was due to the fact that the programs I have worked with in North and South America existed in a social situation where power conflict between ethnic groups was the most salient factor. I don't think this is true of Sweden; equality, freedom of choice, and cooperation cannot be considered conflict-generating guidelines. With concerns for equity seemingly satisfied, I turn to questions of efficiency which is the hallmark of concern within a structural-functional approach. What kind of schooling can most effectively help migrant children become happy and productive members of society?

Language planning

Research reports commissioned by government agencies often assume an importance beyond their scholarly worth; witness the furor caused by the Baker-deKanter (1981) report of the US Department of Education. The reason for this is obvious: putative future policies are thought to be "justified" in advance by Scientific Truth. Baker-deKanter found no evidence supporting bilingual education, and since everyone knows President Reagan is on record against bilingual education, the report was feared as a prelude to coming decisions and new policies, which would be anti-bilingual education.

In this report, I would like to make clear on the one hand what I see as political decisions about languge, language problems, and language policies which necessitate no scholarly input or at least are based on criteria other than linguistic ones and on the other hand, those issues which are legitimately linguistic matters and which necessitate expert treatment. My major objective in this section is to avoid future confusion and to make clear to politicians and decision makers that there are decisions they must make on political grounds and so not to avoid difficult and invariably-unpopular-with-some decisions under the excuse of language.

The term language planning[6] is usually limited to "the organized pursuit of solutions to language problems, typically at the national level" (Fishman, 1973: 23–4). The degree of "organized" varies; a language planning process that shares Jernudd's (1973) specifications of the orderly and systematic 1) establishment of goals, 2) the selection of means, and 3) the prediction of outcomes, is an exception rather than the rule. Heath's (1972) study of language policy in Mexico illustrates how language decisions are made during the history of a nation; decisions are primarily made on political and economic grounds and reflect the values

6. The following discussion draws heavily on my *Implications of Language Learning Theory for Language Planning: Concerns in Bilingual Education* (1974).

of those in political power. Linguistic issues *per se* are of minor concern. Since the matters discussed are always overtly those of language, there is considerable confusion about the salient issues debated in language planning, whether they are in fact matters of political, economic, religious, socio-cultural or linguistic concerns.

In discussing language problems then, it is important for their identification, analysis, and treatment to understand whether they are legitimately problems of language or whether the language situation is merely symptomatic of social and cultural problems. To this end I find it useful to distinguish between language cultivation and language policy, where *language cultivation* deals with matters of language and *language policy* with matters of society and nation.[7] Jernudd has suggested the terms language determination, language development, and language implementation, where determination roughly corresponds to policy and development to cultivation; he also points out that there exists a relationship between the two. I would like to take this one step further and suggest that determination, development, and implementation are subsets of cultivation as well as of policy so that a simple table looks like this:

Language cultivation	**Language policy**
determination	determination
development	development
implementation	implementation

Here *determination* refers to the initial decisions about goals, means and outcomes. Official language choice, the U.S. Title VII Bilingual Education Act, and the Swedish 1980 Compulsory School Curriculum (1980: 56–57) on aims for Swedish as a foreign language are typical examples. *Development* refers to the working out in Rubin's terms (1973) of means and strategies to achieve the outcomes; the urgent preparation of texts for bilingual education is a crucial step in order to be able to implement a home-language[8] teaching policy. The preparation of vocabulary lists, normative grammars and spelling manuals are other examples. And teacher training deserves to be mentioned here, when national educational policy is being developed.

Implementation refers to the actual attempts to bring about the desired goals. The sale of grammars and dictionaries, the distribution of text-

7. I owe the terms language cultivation and language policy to Jiri Neustupni as well as the concept of a basic dichotomy, but my classification varies completely with his. The terms status planning and corpus planning, which also appear in the literature, correspond roughly to cultivation and policy.

8. In this report the terms *mother tongue* and *home language* are used synonymously.

books, the language used in the mass-media, and the Cuban Literacy Campaign in 1961 are all implementations of previous determination and development.

Occasionally the chronological order of determination, development, and implementation may seem to be reversed so that the determination simply becomes the official ratification of already implemented or accepted language use, as when the Swedish Academy authorized the use of the colloquial form of the word for "them" which is "dom", long after the formal "dem" had ceased to be in common use. The number of Swedes saying "dom" should not therefore be thought of as the implementation of the Academy's decision but rather as a crucial input on that decision. Some of the factors least discussed in the literature on language planning are those factors which serve to influence the decisions in the determination stage. Rioting hordes in India, the folkhighschools in Norway, and a large Navajo speaking population in the United States have all had their input on decisions made about language even though the influence has been vastly disparate in nature. Existing language use does not form part of the planning process but is rather a major influence on every facet of that process. In my discussion of language planning I am not dealing with the factors which serve to influence determination, development, and implementation, but I have long thought them to be the most important aspects of language planning. In contemporary Sweden, important input factors are 1) the prevailing socialdemocratic ideology with the guidelines of equity, freedom of choice and cooperation; 2) the demographic factors, i.e. the sheer number of immigrant children; 3) the Nordic countries' agreements vis à vis the labor force; 4) social class of immigrants; 5) the present economic situations of the world market, i.e. a severe recession; 6) the Swedish reluctance to face confrontation and conflict; 7) the semilingualism myth; and, of course, others. Language and culture of the immigrants serve as part of the definition of the problem but are not input factors *per se*. Swedish culture, on the other hand, i.e. worldview, belief system, infra structure and notion of appropriate behvior, clearly has influenced and will influence decisions about migrants. This is inevitable but frequently not recognized by the participants. It is a truism to say that our own culture is so pervasive we barely notice it, yet we need to be reminded of it. It is exactly the culturally conditioned Swedish reluctance to avoid conflict which has led to the lack of clear decisions about migrant schooling. The present home language classes function under provisory legislation. Decisions about Swedish as a foreign language have been delayed for years. Occasionally there are contradictory cultural (Swedish) values which result in tension, as e.g. with the gypsies. Swedes believe both in freedom of choice and in education for children because it does not occur to

anyone that they can be contradictory values, i.e. that anyone will choose not to send their children to school. But the gypsies frequently do, in Sweden as elsewhere, and it results in the problem whether to recognize Rom values (freedom of choice) or enforce Swedish values (and laws which often are based on those values).

We have a very poor understanding of the factors which influence language planning, in Sweden as elsewhere. We have no theory of language planning which can systematically deal with such inputs. I suspect the Swedish situation is especially complicated because there are so many contradictory values within Swedish culture, such as equality and enduring working class values; the possibility of social mobility and a wage and tax policy which discriminates against achievement; freedom of choice and xenophobia; etc. These are admittedly vague constructs and outside the scope of this report, and I only mention them here as examples because 1) these factors are virtually unstudied in the context of bilingual education and 2) they are likely to be more important than any language issue can be. There is as yet no theory of language planning that can systematically deal with such inputs.

I have left to last the basic difficulty of determining how a given language problem is classified as belonging to the cultivation or the policy category. In discussing this difficulty, I hope to make three things clear. One, that there is a much more ongoing interrelationship between the two approaches than what is normally recognized. Two, just as in linguistics, to borrow a metaphor, the same surface structures may have different underlying deep structures. So may observed language phenomena seem to be the same problem, e.g. the standardization of *New Norwegian* (nynorsk) and Hindi as official languages, when in fact very different language planning processes are involved (Haugen, 1966; Das Gupta, 1970). And third, the model will help indicate at what times and in what areas it would be reasonable to expect that the language specialist could actively contribute to the language planning process.

I have attempted to isolate the basic elements which distinguish reported case studies of language planning from one another and to formulate these as criteria by which any event in the planning chain can be assigned to either the cultivation or policy approach. My concern has not been with abstract notions but with the realities of language planning. (Rubin and Jernudd; 1971:xxii)

Criterion 1. *Who makes the decision?* This is a relatively clear-cut category. In most cases it is quite clear whether the decision is made by language specialists, such as linguists, philologists, language teachers, native informants, etc. and so belongs to the cultivation approach or is made by government officials of various kinds, such as in agencies, ministries, etc. and belongs in the policy approach. Like Jernudd, I have

limited to language planning such actions which require governmental authorization; others he refers to as instances of language treatment, examples are Australian Broadcasting Corporation pronunciation guidance, newspaper columnist advice, etc.

There are in many countries official governmental academies, like the French Academy, the Swedish Royal Academy, whose members are not primarily language specialists and who make decisions about language. According to this criterion, these decisions would seem to be policy decisions. I clearly consider them under the cultivation approach for these reasons. The primary criterion for membership in this type of academy is the demonstration of the highest order of "culture" appropriate within that particular society, and it is as educated and cultured men they are asked to form their decisions, not as government officials. Criteria 2 and 3 clarify this fuzzy area.

There is another occurrence when the category looks muddled. It does happen that linguists and language experts go into politics and/or become government officials. Ivar Aasen in Norway (Haugen, 1972) and Luis Cabrera in Mexico (Heath, 1972) are examples of this. Their linguistic expertise should then be regarded as input into what are clearly policy decisions. Again, criteria 2 and 3 will clarify this.

Criteria	Cultivation approach	Policy approach
Determination		
1. Who makes the decision?	Language specialists, i.e. linguists, philologists, language teachers, native informants, etc.	Government officials, agencies, ministries, etc.
2. Does decision concern native or other language?	Decison about official native language of policy makers.	Decision about choice of official language or about second or foreign language of policy makers.
3. Whom does the decision affect?	Decision affects language behavior of elites and policy makers as well.	Decision affects only subordinate classes or groups.
Development		
4. Factors in evaluating results?	Primarily linguistic or educational.	Primarily non-linguistic, such as economic, political, ideological, etc.
Implementation		
5. Factors in evaluating results?	Passive acceptance.	Strong attitudes, either negative or positive.

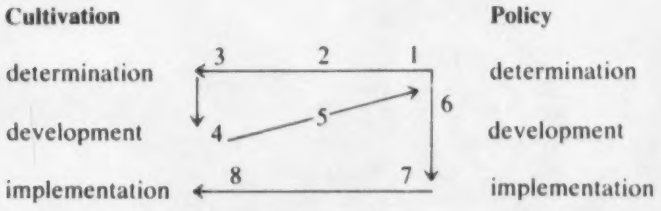
Criterion 2. *Is the decision about the native or another language?* Cultivation decisions are usually about the official and native language of the

policy makers. Norms for French Canadian are set by speakers of French Canadian, criteria for developing technological word lists in Swedish are made by Swedes, etc. Policy decisions typically concern etiher second or foreign languages for the policy makers or the choice of an official language. Those responsible for the authorization of home language education in Sweden or for the Bilingual Education Act in the United States do not speak Turkish or Navajo.

Two points need clarification. I would consider the development and maintenance of a standard written form of a language as a matter of cultivation, normally undertaken by speakers of that language. However, cultures that today do not possess a written code of their language, like the Assyrians, do not have the technical skill of developing a writing system and in such situations criterion 2 will not hold, as decisions about reducing language to writing usually are made by outside linguists, frequently by missionary groups like the Summer Insitute of Linguistics. These linguists however do learn the target language, and their development decisions are based upon the language use of native speakers. Note however that the initial decision, namely to develop a writing system for e.g. Arabela in Peru, very often needs official approval and that is a policy decision.

The other points concerns the nature of dialect and language. *Language standardization*, most frequently a matter of selecting one norm from several regional variations, is a matter of language cultivation; *language choice*, the selection of an official code from two or more codes, is language policy. When the cases are clear as with standardizing Czech or choosing Hindi and English as official languages in India there is no confusion, but consider Norway's *New Norwegian* (nynorsk) and *Standard Norwegian* (riksnorsk). Normally one would consider two codes spoken within the same country, having identical phonemic systems, virtually identical syntax, most of their vocabulary in common and differing primarily only in morphology to be dialects of the same language, and so expect that the language planning which has taken place in Norway during this century be the concerns of language cultivation. (Haugen, 1966) But each code has its own written grammars and dictionaries, fiction and nonfiction are written in both codes and recognized and accepted as such by the Norwegian people, and most importantly, political parties have espoused the adaptation *in toto* of one code or the other for reasons of nationalism, socialism and other ideological values. It is clearly for non-linguistic reasons that Haugen considers the two codes separate languages, and hence it follows that language choice may involve selection of codes which by purely linguistic criteria might be considered dialects. It is also clear that a great deal of language cultivation preceded the adaptation of Aasen's *Landsmål* (later called New

Norwegian) as the official language. There is a constant criss-crossing between policy determinations and cultivation determinations: The Norwegian Parliament (Stortinget) authorized the Ministry of Church and Education to appoint a permanent Language Board "whose goal should be to promote the rapprochement of the two written languages on the basis of Norwegian folk speech ..." (Haugen, 1972: 138). The Board eventually presented the Parliament with a proposal for a textbook norm which was adopted for use in the schools after two days of full-scale debate. A schematization of the language planning events would look like this:



where 1) represents the decision on the need for a textbook norm; 2) the Ministry charging the Board with preparing a textbook norm; 3) the Board deciding on guidelines and policies for the preparation of the textbook norm; 4) the preparation of the textbook norm proposal; 5) the presentation of the proposal to the Norwegian Parliament; 6) the adoption of the norm; 7) referral to the Ministry for development and implementation decisions and 8) actual implementation in the Ministry: textbooks, teachers, etc.

I commented earlier that this model does not account for the factors influencing the decisions made along the various events in the language planning process. There is little reason to believe that the Board was completely objective in discharging its task; its members were carefully selected to equally represent both languages for a variety of interest groups concerned about language. Although their task (the actual work was done by two linguists) lies in the realm of language cultivation, clearly their decisions were influenced by their ideological orientation.

Criterion 3. ***Whose language behavior does the decision affect?*** By "affecting language behavior" is meant actual, productive change of present language behavior if the proposed decision were implemented. If Hindi became the only official language in India, Hindi speakers would presumably not have to learn English. This would represent a change in language behavior but not a productive one. Spelling reforms effect social elites, policy makers as well as the rest of the population. The

elites and the policy makers do not always represent the same groups. This was the case in Norway, and one of the basic difficulties of implementation.

On the other hand, when decisions affect only the language behavior of subordinate groups or classes, these cases seem to be clear examples of language policy determination. The U.S. Congress is not likely to learn Navajo, just because they passed Title VII; literacy campaigns do not effect the language behavior of those who instigate the campaigns, since they already know how to read. This is not to say that the language behaviors of others involved in the programs do not change on the developmental and implementational levels, e.g. the language skills needed for bilingual education drastically changes teacher recruitment and training programs.

There are many policy decisions which also affect the elites; from foreign language requirements in the school curriculum and medium of instruction in the schools to selection of official languages. Especially in the latter case, it is important to realize that governments and elites may have conflicting interests, and that many nations have groups of elites with conflicting interests. Many language policy decisions which result in open strife are due just to the opposition of competing interest groups within the higher levels of social stratification. Many of the African nations prefer a neutral world language as the official language rather than favoring one of the many native languages, isomorphic with tribal boundaries.

As a final comment on the criteria for analyzing determination decisions as belonging to the cultivation or policy approach, I believe they are listed in order of importance. Criterion 1 overrides the others, and 2 and 3 are useful primarily if 1 does not clearly discriminate between cultivation or policy. If criteria 2 and 3 conflict, I believe 2 to be more significant.

Criterion 4. *Factors in evaluating the results on the development level,* i.e. the produced materials such as dictionaries, word lists, readers, textbooks and programs, such as curriculum and teacher training.

This criterion is basically a corollary of criterion 1; work produced by language specialists is judged by linguistic or educational-linguistic criteria, and work prepared by government representatives is evaluated by non-linguistic criteria, such as by economic, political, ideological, etc. factors.

Two points need consideration. From an examination of case studies, it seems evident that in every decision about language, if it is to stand any chance of implementation and achieving planned goals, such determination must at one stage be developed by language specialists. Political

ideology is not sufficient for standardizing languages or eliminating distasteful loan words. An exception are policies which prohibit or stigmatize the use of specified languages, such as the earlier prohibition of Finnish in the Swedish schools and of Spanish in American schools. Such policies are often tacitly understood rather than officially ratified, a problematic concern in historical research. (Heath, 1973) But any determination decision about official languages, language development, bilingual education and the like, which is firmly intended to become implemented necessitates a cultivation-development stage. Indeed, it seems probable that one can judge the seriousness of intent of the determination by whether a schematization of the language planning process includes a cultivation-development stage.

In many nations, language specialists needed for cultivation-development are incorporated into official or government agencies, such as in the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the U.S. in the 1930's, the Ministry of Education in Sweden, and the Academy of the Hebrew language in Israel. But they work there by virtue of and in the capacity of being language specialists, and the nature of their work is that of language cultivation. Often they work under the supervision and jurisdiction of government officials who do not possess their specifically needed skills, a potential conflict situation.

And this is the second point. Work produced by language specialists should be evaluated by linguistic and educational-linguistic criteria, but often this is not the case, and I find it imperative in analyzing language planning processes that one be very clear about which set of criteria is being applied in discussion developmental products.

To discuss in Kenya in linguistic terms whether English or Swahili better expresses scientific concepts obscures the issue and confuses the argument because the matter is one of emerging nationalism. Such arguments should be considered as input on future policy decisions, not as evaluation of developed products.

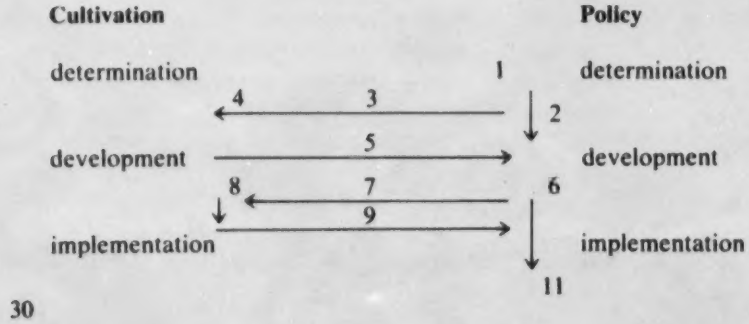
Cultivational developments are often judged by both linguistic and nonlinguistic criteria. Textbooks are an excellent example as they serve to socialize children in the cultural and ideological values of the dominant group. A textbook may be excellent by linguistic criteria but in content go counter to the political or religious ideology of the government. (Boggio, 1973) This is exactly what happened in Peru in 1974, where a new set had to be commissioned to meet the Ministry of Education's non-liguistic criteria.

Economic concerns are also often voiced in the development of textbooks in multilingual situations. Such non-linguistic criteria should be seen as contextual constraints on cultivation-development and of crucial importance in the planning process. Unless constraints are properly

understood and accounted for, there is very little likelihood of successful implementation. Fishman discusses contextual constraints (in the terminology of planning) as unexpected system linkages: " ... the unexpected system linkages may be indeed of greater moment than the ones of direct interest to the language planner." (Fishman 1973: 36) This point cannot be stressed sufficiently, especially as the concept of unexpected system linkages is meant to account for planning failures (by professional planners referred to as unexpected outcomes) and by taking contextual constraints into consideration, one would assure successful implementation. Besides the difficulty of foreseeing the unexpected, I suspect that language planners, i.e. language policy makers, may be very aware of these system linkages but for idological reasons consider their policy worth the battle. To illustrate, Heath accounts for the failure of bilingual education in Mexico in the 50's as not the fault of the method but rather "of the teachers who had ambivalent attitudes about the method or were not adequately trained in the linguistic skills and anthropological assumptions necessary to support the method." (Heath 1972: 143) I find these inadequate reasons which do not account for the real problem which is linkage of race, internal colonization, cholofication and *arribismo*. Societies will typically blame the schools, the teacher, the method for matters which are symptomatic of social ills and beyond the control of any individuals.

Now, I have myself discussed these concepts, these system linkages, with high officials in the Ministry of Education in Peru (June, 1972) and there is no question they know and understand the contextual constraints on their bilingual education policy, which are similar to those of Mexico's. They prefer to fail than not to try—and who is to say that they won't succeed. I for one would not want the responsibility of predicting failure on the basis of theoretical notions in the social sciences for a program of which I approve morally.

But to return to the evaluation of cultivation-development. A schematization of the events related to the textbook development within the language planning process in Peru would look like this:



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where 1) represents decisions by the Ministry of Education of sweeping reforms in education; (Ley General de Education, 1972.) 2) subsequently the Ministry decides on new textbooks; 3) textbooks are commissioned; 4) developed; 5) and returned to those in the Ministry in charge of developing new textbooks; where 6) they are rejected; 7) a new set is commissioned; 8) developed; 9) submitted to the Ministry; 10) accepted; and 11) implemented.

The point I want to make from this schematization is 1) that language specialists can work effectively and forcefully (no doubt influenced by their ideological values) only when the events in the language planning process fall under the category of cultivation, 2) that linguistic criteria can be validly and effectively applied only to events in the cultivation category, and 3) when linguistic arguments are applied to advocate or criticize events under policy, they are likely to be colored by the ideological orientation of the language specialist. The debate over semilingualism in Sweden is a very good example of this although in this case the linguistic data for semilingualism are spurious.

However, giving advice is very different from advocating a specific policy. When the linguist is asked as consultant to advise (i. e. input to policy decisions) he is very likely to see and suggest alternatives and possible future consequences for each alternative. A recent anecdote will illustrate this. A Canadian language specialist was asked to evaluate the foreign language teaching system in an Arab nation in the Middle East. As the medium of instruction at the university level is in English and the students have difficulties with it, he suggested that they consider English instead of Classical Arabic as the medium of instruction during the last two years in high school. The suggestion was promptly rejected for reasons of nationalism and religion, symbolized by Classical Arabic. The government official understood very well the merit of the suggestion for increased efficiency of English teaching, but for him efficiency of English teaching was not the primary function of high school education. It is crucial in evaluating educational language planning that one consider the function of education in that society. The linguist readily accepted the decision; it was not within his domain to question the function of education of that nation. Some time thereafter, however, another government official became minister of education, and he saw the practical merit of the language specialist's recommendations. Consequently, a program, carefully evaluated, was carried out, which used English as the medium of instruction.

Criterion 5. *Factors in evaluating results of implementation.* The overriding factor in deciding whether an implementation stems from an initial cultivation or policy determination seems to lie in the manner it is

received by the target population. The implementation of cultivation determinations are normally accepted passively; no one except cantankerous individuals reacted violently to the Swedish spelling reform in 1905. Policy implementations on the other hand are typically received with strong attitudes, either negative or positive. The target population may be unanimous or split in its attitudes. The acceptance of Hebrew as a national language was received with strong positive attitudes which enabled its subsequent development and represents a typical language policy. Necessary to this development was later cultivation exemplified in the work of the Hebrew Language Academy whose word lists to my knowledge were never received with public elation.

The very recent interest in language attitude studies is illustrative of the increasing understanding in the field of language planning of the importance attitudes play in the successful implementation of language policies. The prediction of attitudes toward alternative language policies is considered an important aspect in theoretical speculations about language planning as a discipline.

Conclusion

We see then that most of the initial decisions about the schooling of migrant children in Sweden are clearly policy decisions. We do know from the Canadian studies (Lambert and Tucker, 1972; Swain and Lapkin, 1981) that it is educationally feasible to teach children to read in a second language, given trained and understanding teachers and a supportive home and school culture. The decision about home language education then is a political decision which should follow from the long-range goals set for immigrants, i.e. freedom of choice about assimilation. However, conflicting values, like Swedish dislike of foreign ways with its strong peer pressure and the general scare of semilingualism, may excert pressure in different directions so that the choice may not be very obvious. For school officials to inform illiterate mothers from autocratic countries of the dire dangers of semilingualism as an established scientific fact (fieldnotes, Södertälje 1982) does not constitute my notion of freedom of choice. I think a study of language planning in Sweden will show a lot of interference along the policy decision lines.

On the other hand, issues of textbook preparation and teacher training, the latter sorely ignored, especially in Swedish as a foreign language (Sfs), are matters of language cultivation once the initial policy decision to proceed has been made.

As I discuss the Swedish research, I will return to these issues as much confusion results when linguistic criteria are used to assess language policies.

Research studies on bilingual education in Sweden

Bilingual education research in general

There are three basic types of bilingual education programs: 1) Programs where all classroom instruction is in the L_2 with the exception of a component in mother tongue skills. The Canadian early immersion programs are of this type as are in Sweden the so called 'Swedish class' "where the pupil may leave the class for mother tongue instruction and/or compensatory help" (NBE, 1979: 6). 2) Programs taught in the mother tongue with a second language component, i.e. the target language is taught as a subject. In Sweden, this type of program would correspond to 'home language class' "where all the pupils have a common mother-tongue and where in principle all teaching is done in the mother tongue" (NBE, 1979: 6). 3) Programs in which two languages are used as medium of instruction. The standard U.S. Office of Education definition of bilingual education falls within this type as does the Swedish 'combined class' "where a part of the pupils have a common home language other than Swedish" (NBE, 1979: 6).

With only three basic types of programs where the primary difference lies in medium of instruction, the variation between programs—and the concern of research questions—is primarily found in the arrangement and combination of components rather than in different components. The major variables are:

1. the sequencing of languages; i.e. is initial literacy taught in the L_1 or L_2 or simultaneously?
2. time allotted, both in sequencing and in the curriculum. What is the timespan in introducing reading between the two languages or is there none? What is the time allocation in the curriculum to the L_1 and the

L_2. In 1973, the National Board of Education claimed that the goal of bilingual teaching was "a parallel command of both languages" (1973: 97) and then allotted two hours a week to mother tongue instruction, hardly sufficient to achieve its goal. Such practice, primarily for political reasons rather than from ignorance, is not uncommon.

3. the relative emphasis on the mother tongue culture of the children. The Canadian definitions omit any reference to home culture (it is after all the dominant culture), the U.S. definition stresses it, while the Swedish objective is freedom of choice.
4. medium of instruction of specific subjects, especially reading and mathematics. Reading seems to show transfer across languages using the same alphabet, while the findings on transfer between languages of mathematical skills are confusing, with computation showing lack of transfer (Paulston, 1977).
5. teacher ethnicity and competencies. Research questions under this variable include whether the teacher is a member of the same ethnic group as the children although ethnic is not synonymous with language. I remember some unhappiness when an Arab-speaking Egyptian Muslim was detailed to a class of Arab-speaking Christian Syrians: the Syrians rejected any notion of shared ethnicity in that instance. Other questions concern whether the same teacher teaches in both languages, whether each language is taught by a native speaker, or whether the two languages are represented by a certified teacher on the one hand and by a teacher's aide on the other. This issue is, or rather should be, of real concern in Sweden because it is so closely tied to another variable, namely
6. good compared with bad programs. Quite simplistically, issues involved concern such obvious matters as whether teachers are fluent in the language they teach (or speak a standard dialect); whether they are literate and can spell, etc.; whether they are certified or at least have adequate training. In Sweden, only 31% of mothertongue instructors are qualified i.e. have teacher certificates (Adestedt and Hellström, 1982: 2). The majority of the Swedish as a foreign language (Sfs)[9] teachers, I am told, are not interested in Sfs as a subject but teach it as a result of replacement because they cannot handle the

9. For reasons I don't know, Swedish for immigrants has become known as Swedish as a foreign language. According to technical nomenclature, it should be Swedish as a second language, a second language being the official language of the country of residence, necessary for full socio-economic, political and cultural participation in that nation. It is a distinction worth making as the attitudes accompanying second language learning differ at times strongly from regular foreign language learning. Cf. e.g. the Finns' attitudes toward English, a foreign language, and Swedish, a second language. See also Tingbjörn, 1981: 67–68.

large, regular Swedish classes, and the result is a systematic selection of poor teachers for the migrant children's most critical subject. I can't attest to the accuracy of this observation as I know of no research on the matter, but I do know I never saw a trained Sfs teacher in the schools I visited. According to Adestedt and Hellström (1982: 2), 28% of the Sfs teachers in 1981 had had no pedagogical training. Adequate curricula and textbooks are also important variables under this heading, especially as they are a perennial concern in bilingual programs. It should be reassuring to educators that children in general do better in good programs, independent of whether their L_1 or L_2 is used as medium of instruction (Prator, 1967; Ramos, Aguilar and Sibayan, 1967). I know of no research which attempts to evaluate whether Swedish bilingual education programs meet acceptable standards.

7. the language of the surrounding school and community is a variable that is poorly understood. In the schools with mothertongue classes I visited, Swedish was clearly the lingua franca of the schoolyard in spite of the Swedish children only making up some 20% of the pupil population. The fact that the children among them represented 32 languages will help account for this usage. In some of the Finnish studies, there are anecdotal comments that the children in mothertongue classes in the very early grades use Finnish more frequently during recess than do the other classes.

There are no doubt other variables which distinguish between programs but these are the ones which surface most frequently in the research designs in bilingual education as input and program variables. Output variables or dependent variables typically include scholastic skills, usually in the form of standardized test scores; IQ tests; drop out rates; and psychological factors, like mental hygiene, sense of self, sense of security, cultural adaptation, etc. NBE's own statistics (Liljegren, 1982) is the only data I know which compares employment figures upon school leaving of migrant children with the national population, but these data do not occur in a research design with independent variables so causal factors are unidentified. I shall return to the Liljegren data in my conclusions.

Bilingual education in language maintenance or shift situations

Finally, one needs to consider whether the bilingual programs which are under scrutiny in the research studies take place in a situation of language maintenance or language shift. Linguists, who of course love languages, tend to be ardent supporters of language maintenance and, I am afraid, frequently succumb to wishful thinking so that language shift, language attrition and language death are poorly understood phenomena (Gal, 1979; Dorian, 1981; Lambert and Freed, 1982). However, the normal situation with groups in prolonged contact within one nation is for the subordinate group to shift to the language of the dominant group, either over several hundred years as with Gaelic in Great Britain or over the span of three generations as has been the case with the European immigrants to the United States in an extraordinary rapid shift.[10] It was exactly the language shift and attempts to stop it which have caused much of the trouble in Quebec (from French to English) and Belgium (from Flemish to French). In Brudner's terms (1972), jobs select language learning strategies, which is to say that wherever there are jobs available that demand knowledge of a certain language, people will learn it.

Language maintenance is almost invariably due to social factors rather than love of the language, such as religion (the Amish with Pennsylvania Dutch, a German dialect, and the Jewish with Hebrew where only reading aloud knowledge is required), social class (Sanskrit) or physical isolation (Navajo). Contrary to popular belief, even among Swedish researchers, ethnicity is rarely sufficient for language maintenance, nor is language maintenance necessary for culture or ethnicity maintenance as Lopez documents for the Chicanos in Los Angelos (1976). An important factor in accounting for maintenance or rate of shift is to be found in the process by which the ethnic groups came into contact. Voluntary migration, especially of individuals and families, results in the most rapid shift while annexation (Tornedalen in the north of Sweden) and colonialization (the Lapps) where entire groups are brought into a nation with their social institutions of marriage and kinship, religious and other belief systems and values still *in situ*, still more or less intact, tend to result in much slower language shift if at all (Lieberson, Dalto, and Johnston, 1975; Schermerhorn, 1970). The mechanism of language shift is bilingua-

10. I have even encountered cases with the Vietnamese where the shift took place within two generations, and mother and child could only communicate in the most rudimentary fashion. The bilingual father was the one who told me. I would not be surprised to find such cases in the immigrant population in Sweden.

lism, and the schools in a social situation which favors language shift are very helpful in helping the children learn a new language. So is frequently the Armed Forces in countries where there is obligatory military service, like in Peru (Spanish) and Zaire (Lingala).[11] Another social institution which contributes most efectively to bilingualism is exogamy. Frequently, so are religious institutions, like Islam, Greek Orthodoxy, and Judaism.

In a situation of language maintenance (or maybe more accurately nonshift since it is not likely to be an actively pursued maintenance) with no jobs, racial or ethnic discrimination, enforced endogamy, or physical isolation by caste or geographical distance, like the Quechuas in the Andes, the Navajos on the reservation or the American Blacks in the urban ghettos, the schools alone can do little to promote effective language learning. Bilingual education does not exist in the vacuum so many research studies cast it in, but is itself the result of social forces which are much more significant than any particular type of schooling.

The Swedish situation whith two exceptions favors language shift, and if history is any lesson, there is very little that any individual or group of indiviuduals, including the many ethnic organizations, can do about that. Social forces of economics, social mobility, and culture will support assimilation, and to the degree Swedes will accept and marry the children of the immigrants and the refugees, they will become Swedish. Their children in turn are more than likely to be monolingual Swedes.

In Northern Sweden the situation is clearly one of slow and steady shift to Swedish, both among the Same and the Tornedalings, whatever the occasional claim to the contrary is. Rönmark and Wikström's findings in their dissertation (1980) are the same as Jaakkola's (1973): "The main conclusion was that the Finnish language in Tornedalen is decreasing and that in one or two generations probably all the area will be Swedish speaking" (1980: from the Summary, no pagination). They finish by urging that the schools should support Finnish language maintenance, but recognize that the school by itself cannot support continued Finnish. Henning Johansson, himself trilingual in Finnish, Lappish, and Swedish, documents the same process of shift for the Sami population: "There are wide, regional differences in the knowledge of the Saamic language and in the use of the language. The latter has also been on the decline for the past 30 years" (1977: from the Summary, no pagination). My speculation is that the rate of this shift may be slower as the use of Lappish is tied to the reindeer-herding population and hence geographic isolation, but on the other hand, the demographic figures of female

11. This has not been the case in Sweden where drafted naturalized citizens already know Swedish with the exception of an occasional Finn. (Josephson, 1980).

exogamy and a large number of unmarried men over thirty years of age do not look good. Unless extraordinary measures are taken, and probably even if they are, both populations will end up monolingual in Swedish. Finnish will still exist as a language, but Lappish[12] will be gone for ever which is a sad event for a linguist and probably explains why many Swedish researchers refuse to accept the fact.

The situation of the immigrants and refugees to Sweden, i.e. voluntary migration[13], is also one of language shift although much more rapid than in Northern Sweden. Liljegren's data on the home language pupils in Grade 9 document this shift (1981c: 30–31). One third (32% of 2.422, living in Sweden at the age of seven) of the children, with parents both of whom were born abroad, *always* speak Swedish at home with at least one parent while an additional 20% *often* do. We see then that among Grade 9 pupils who immigrated before 1970 or were born in Sweden, by the time they have completed compulsory schooling, half of them always or often speak Swedish at home with their parents who were born abroad. It is not a complete shift at this point since the children still maintain the original mother tongue sufficiently for school studies but that situation is most unlikely to last past another generation or two.

It should also be remembered that the different ethnic groups vary in language usage, as Liljegren points out. Those groups for whom language tends to be tied to religious observances (Arabic, Greek, Assyrian) or whose culture is markedly different from Swedish (Turkish) and hence frown upon exogamy will tend to shift at a much slower rate, but as we see from the American experience, those groups too eventually shift. In Pittsburgh, the Greeks shift over a four generation span, compared with e.g. the three generation shift of the Italians. Factors which contribute to the slower Greek shift are: 1) a language with cultural prestige and tradition, taught by the Greek churches in Pittsburgh, 2) "mail-order" spouses, i.e. securing marriage partners directly from Greece (who then are monolingual in Greek), and 3) quite vaguely, ethnic pride. The Italians, by contrast, speak a non-standard, non-written dialect as mother tongue and there is no attempt at language maintenance.

No country has ever before undertaken home language instruction to immigrant children on such a massive scale as has Sweden so we have no similar data on the role of the school in the maintenance of the immigrant language with sustained bilingualism of the national language. Joshua Fishman, himself a native speaker of Yiddish and a vehement advocate of language maintenance, documents, however, in his *Language Loyalty*

12. I realize there are Norwegian, Finnish and Russian Lappish as well, but the process is likely to be the same if slower.
13. It is of course a moot point how voluntary the migration of a political refugee is.

in the United States (1966) the inadequacy of any school system in maintaining home languages in situations when the social forces favor language shift. The putative maintenance of some 50 (Liljegren, 1981c) to 140 (Tingbjörn and Andersson, 1981) home languages in Sweden is not just an idle academic question but one of considerable importance in educational planning. Before spending millions of crowns on curriculum development, textbook preparation, and teacher training, one would like to have some assurance that there will be some students around to study these languages. My personal speculation, based on the body of literature on language maintenance and shift, is that there will *not* be groups of students with home languages other than Swedish[14] in a couple of generations—given of course the present immigration trends. Minor ethnic groups will constitute exceptions to this, but on the whole the immigrants are likely to shift completely to Swedish (see Magnuson, 1979). The topic of this report does not include the implications for educational planning of such a shift, but in my opinion they should be considered at this point. I should also point out that it is perfectly predictable that every single ethnic organization in the country will deny even the possibility of such shift. So will many linguists and sociologists of Fishman's persuasion.

The exceptions to language shift (and variable degree of cultural assimilation) are the Rom or gypsies and the Finns.

The gypsies came out of India about the time of Alexander the Great (d. 323 BC) and were presumably already then an outcaste group. They have for more than 2000 years maintained their Indic language Romani, maybe as a function of the discrimination that they have commonly suffered for their perceived anti-social behavior, cultural behavior at deviance with their host-culture. Clearly gypsy behavior is deviant from Swedish cultural behavior and clearly Swedes discriminate. (Trankell, 1973, 1974, 1981; Westin, 1981) Both sets of behavior, gypsy cultural behavior and Swedish discriminatory behavior, will tend to enforce ethnic boundary maintenance. (Barth, 1969) The gypsies no doubt have equality before the law in Sweden but their situation points out that freedom of choice really only means freedom to choose between alternatives which are acceptable to Swedes. To choose not to send children to compulsary school is simply not an acceptable choice, however appropriate to gypsy culture. As Westin puts it: "the decisive question is whether Swedish society in reality can be ethnically and culturally pluralistic, if a tolerance is possible . . ." (1981:225). He doesn't think so, nor do I. In short, I believe the gypsies will remain gypsies, just as I believe

14. Speakers of world languages such as English are excluded here as migration of a professional middle class is likely to continue.

the great-grandchildren of the Estonians and the Hungarians will become Swedes.

The situation of the Finns is troublesome. They are the single largest immigrant group and constitute about half of the pupil population with a home language other than Swedish. We know that demographic figures are important for language maintenance but there are other factors as well. Similar to the Puerto Rican situation in the United States, there is considerable back migration and even back and forth migration between Finland and Sweden (I have no exact figures). Such continued interuption in medium of instruction has negative consequences in the language development of children although the data we have is basically anecdotal. Certainly the Puerto Rican children's poor school achievement in New York is well attested to. The Finns in Sweden seem to be fairly solidly working class (Steen, 1980: 133) with little aspiration for upward social mobility, using such indicators as continued education and job selection (Liljegren, 1982). Interrupted schooling with language change, working class milieu and sometimes low verbal input because of working parents, give cause for concern about children's language development. The Finnish data (Kuusinen, Lasonen, Särkelä, 1977; Toukomaa and Skutnabb-Kangas, 1977; Lasonen and Toukomaa, 1978; Toukomaa and Lasonen, 1979) consistently show the Finnish immigrant children behind the national Finnish norms[15].

There is another factor which differentiates the Finns from the other immigrants, and that is a matter of nationalism. We seek to understand all the other immigrant groups in Sweden from a perspective of ethnicity, ethnic groups as categories of ascription and identification which share "fundamental cultural values, realized in overt unity in cultural forms" (Barth, 1969: 11) and usually a common language (but cf the Yugoslavs). The freedom of choice really concerns a freedom for individual immigrants to choose just how much they want to maintain their original ethnic boundaries or cross over into Swedish culture. What the Finns want is not ethnic boundary maintenance but rather extended geographic nationalism (see e.g. Similä, 1980). Nationalism does not concern the choice of individuals but the rights of the group. It is not at all clear to me how united the Finnish group is in its goal for maintained Finish nationalism in Sweden. Of Liljegren's Finnish 9th graders, 53 % speak Swedish always (36%) or often (17%) with their parents[16], which situation looks like one of incipient shift. Whatever decisions need to be made are

15. Care is needed in the comparison with national norms. Such statistics are normed on children from all social classes, and since social class correlates positively with school achievement, Finnish working class children in Finland will also be below the norms.
16. Of Steen's (1980) children, 67% claimed to be dominant in Swedish.

clearly political in nature and would only marginally have to do with language, were it not for the situation of back and forth migration. The Swedish guideline has been one of equal treatment for all immigrants, and in this context I would merely like to point out the rationale for bilingual education as seen by the United States Supreme Court: Equal treatment does not constitute equal opportunity. The situation does present a dilemma: the Finns probably best stand to profit by bilingual education at the same time as many Swedes are put off by the agressiveness and militancy of the Finnish demands.

Swedish research questions

I have chosen to organize this section according to topic and research questions with select works rather than attempting an annotated bibliography approach. Swedish writings on bilingual education are often very opinionated, and some of the topics are uniquely Swedish. In the United States, there is a pervasive technocratic concern with methods, techniques, curriculum and teacher training, no doubt partially because this type of research tends to get funded by the Office of Education. It seems at times from reading the research as if the most important objectives of the U.S. bilingual programs are for the children to increase their standardized scores on tests in language arts, mathematics, and self-concept; to demonstrate that teaching in the mother tongue results in the more efficient learning of English. This is not so peculiar as it is the rationale for the transitional bilingual education legislation in the United States. This type of experimental design type research is rare in the Swedish research where the rationale for bilingual education is partly axiomatic. It also seems to be based on a notion of semilingualism.

Semilingualism

The notion of semilingualism was popularized in Sweden with the publication of Hansegård's *Tvåspråkighet eller halvspråkighet?* in 1968, but Ekstrand's (1981 b: 45 ff.) account of its previous history sounds credible. The term had its roots in the Finnish language struggle, surfaced in print in the press and always was a layman's term and never a theoretical concept. The term as any Swede will know refers to the imperfect learning of two languages or to cite Immigrant Bureau's in Stockholm (Invandrarexpeditionen) *Invandrarundervisningen i Stockholms skolor*, 1979: 11 (The Education of Immigrants in Stockholm Schools): "a poor Swedish which unfortunately lay the foundation for what we call semilingualism." or the Local Education Authority in Lund: "The compulsary crash course in Swedish resulted in semilingualism for many immigrant children ..."quote from report by Andersson

et al. (1980: 11). The fact of the matter is that there is *no* empirical evidence to support the existance of such a language development hiatus as Hansegård claims. Linguist after linguist in Sweden (Hyltenstam and Stroud, 1982; Loman, 1974; Oksaar, 1980; Stolt, 1975; Stroud, n.d.; Wande, 1977; Öhman, 1981) have criticized the notion. Loman specifically looked for evidence and found none. Nor did Ekvall (1979) or Nystål and Sjöberg (1976) or Rönmark and Wikström (1980).

The widespread mythology of semilingualism when there are no data is astounding to the outsider. Such mythology has obviously served a purpose: people believe what they want to. It has served as rationale for the Finnish (again) groups in their demands for monolingual Finnish schooling in Sweden. It has also served as a rationale for the Swedish parents in Södertälje who do not want the Assyrian children in the same classes as their own children (Field notes, March 1972). There is anecdotal evidence that most immigrant parents wanted their children in mixed Swedish classes until they were informed about the dangers of semilingualism. In Hilmerson et al.'s study, 61 % of the Greek parents "consider that there is a risk for semilingualism if the children do not receive home language instruction" (1980: 14). It is preferable to segregate children on the basis of preventing harm, i.e. semilingualism than on the basis of racial discrimination, at least in Sweden. But I don't know what gave rise to the initial spread and general acceptance of the notion of semilingualism, and it certainly deserves a study. I expect the press may deserve part of the blame.

I also find it disconcerting that semilingualism is accepted as a bona fide theoretical concept in so many university student papers. The following quotations (which of charity I won't identify) are typical and partially or totally inaccurate:

> These children lack any ability to express themselves fully in one language.
> ... the consequences which may follow for the children to early add another language without properly having learned Finnish.
> Most researchers agree (sic) that submersion, i.e. when Finnish immigrant children are taught only in Swedish in Swedish classes, can cause semilingualism.

They show a bias in critical thinking which has no place in Academia. At the very least, one would expect a recognition and discussion of the controversial nature of such a notion.

I would like to conclude this part of the discussion by emphatically

recommending that the notion of semilingualism not be used as a rational for any of NBE's educational policies. It does not seem to exist.[17]

Biculturalism and contrastive culture

Swedes are acutely sensitive to the different cultures, primarily the Mediterranean, which the immigrants bring with them, and to their ethnic identity. Culture contact and culture conflict is probably the most important problem facing Sweden, and it strikes me as remarkable that more research is not done in this area. Language tends to be seen as a central element of culture, probably because most of the work done on culture conflict—or aspects thereof—is peculiarly enough not done by anthropologists but by psychologists. Psychologists are not trained primarily to deal with culture, and it is understandable that they become impressed with surface phenomena. Anthropologists on the other hand learn to look for deep structures of values and belief systems, which are the core of culture. The claim that language is not as important as other features of culture is difficult to document empirically, but I think Osgood, May and Miron (1975) do demonstrate that culture is more important than language in shaping affective structure, in their study comparing Afghan Dari and Iranian Farsi (same language) groups on the one hand with Afghan Dari and Afghan Pashtu (same culture) on the other. Their conclusion: "Like most of our data, this suggests that cultural variables have more influence on affective meaning systems and attributions than purely linguistic variables do" (1975: 358).

Among the anthropologists, it is primarily Ulf Hannerz (1981) and his students (Freudentahl, Narrowe, and Sachs, n.d.) who do basic ethnography, and enormously helpful it is to understand why people act the way they do. It is clear that life in Sweden offers more freedom to young Turkish girls than does life in the traditional villages, and reading about *Turkar i svensk förort* (Turks in a Swedish suburb), it is difficult to see how those girls can internalize both their fathers' value system of women and that of Swedish society. In fact, they can't, and that situation casts serious doubts on the many glib statements of biculturalism as one objective of bilingual education. One would wish for similar ethnographies of the school world of all the major immigrant groups.

The problems which are faced by immigrants and their children in meeting and dealing with conflicting value systems and the schools have been studied primarily by Ekstrand, (1978a, 1978b, 1981), Foster and

17. This is not to say that a child may not produce low scores on bilingual measures or tests, just as he would have produced low scores on monolingual measures. Any causal relationship between the two bilingual scores has not been demonstrated.
Erling Wande of the University of Uppsala is engaged in a study of semilingualism but has not yet any results. This research should hopefully settle the matter.

Olkiewicz (1979, 1982). They see, as do most researchers, adaptation to another culture as a process, raher than as a final product, with clearly identifiable stages. Clearly many models are possible and all this type of work shares the problems of soft data. Foster and Olkiewicz have a tendency to be a bit "fault-finding" and alarmist, i.e. what strikes me as an exaggeration of the difficulties the immigrants face, and this tendency has led Salameh and Wigforss (1982: 9–12) to criticize their work "as a literary production, fiction instead of fact." It is clear that adaptation is an individual process (which is maybe why it appeals to psychologists rather than to anthropologists who study groups), and reactions and attitudes of individuals to culture contact situations vary as much as individuals do.

One report deserves a special mention: *Hemspråkslärarен som kulturförmedlare* (Mothertongue teachers as conveyors of culture by Olkiewicz and Foster, 1982). I have long suspected that the most important role a mother tongue teacher serves is one of cultural broker to children who do not know the national language at all (as the Turkish first grade I saw). It certainly is a topic which deserves exploration.

Kaitatzi and Sjöö-Stille's (1979) study of Greek compulsary school pupils deals minimally with culture, but it is well done and many interesting snippets of information come to light in the interviews with the pupils. It is one of the few pieces of data we have of oral language: their Swedish was fluent and unmixed, their Greek was not, i.e. more data on incipient language shift (1979: 46). The authors also document the dislike (which surfaces in many studies) the children feel in having to leave the regular class for mother tongue instruction. One student said it was often difficult to find his regular class again! Whatever else is decided about mother tongue intruction, the administrative practice of co-scheduling home language instruction with regular classes is clearly counterproductive and should be discouraged, in my and the children's opinion.

There are a number of studies on ethnic identity and schooling from a psychological or pedagogical perspective. These studies all agree that home language classes reinforce ethnic identity (Wrede, 1979; Wellros, 1980; Immonen and Saviluoto, 1981). Some interesting work on ethnic identity has been done by Kjell Magnusson (1979, 1981) who thinks that just "the research on immigrants and identity would have much to gain from using a sociological perspective as an alternative or complement to the sometimes rather onesided psychological way of looking at things which has characterized the discussions" (1981: 43). I agree totally. One result of all the psychological research is that the individual is almost always the unit of research, but when it comes to national language issues, this is not always a useful approach. Language problems at the national level are problems of *groups* in contact. Magnusson's answer to

his own question about ethnic identity *Can one be Yugoslav in Sweden?* collaborates my data on language shift: "the bitter truth is that it is not the school policies which cause the children to forget their origin. The first step towards assimilation occurred when the parents took the train to the north." (1979: 33).

Language teaching in the United States, especially language teaching in bilingual education, has spent a lot of attention to the anthropological linguist Dell Hymes' concept of communicative competence (1972). Hymes, who is no admirer of Chomsky, points out that linguistic competence is not sufficient and if a man were to stand in the street and utter all and only the grammatical sentences of English, he would be likely to be institutionalized. What a speaker needs is communicative competence, a knowledge of the rules of the grammar as well as the rules for their appropriate usage, of knowing when and how and to whom one may speak in appropriate fashion. We tend to use our own communicative competence rules, which are culturally determined, even when we shift to another language. When someone compliments me in Swedish, I say *tack* (thank you). It is Swedish all right but it is not the appropriate usage in Swedish – nor in British English – to say thank you to a compliment. It is American usage. The problem is that we often interpret such deviant usage not as interference from another language but as rude, impolite, uneducated, etc. Swedish usage. Hence the need to teach others the idiosyncratic ways we speak in Swedish or in English or whatever the target language is. Faulty communicative competence is a constant source of misunderstanding, and we teach our Arab and Chinese and Latin American students in the English Language Institute how to say thank you (e.g. Latin usage is effusive and strikes an American as insincere), how to refuse an invitation (Chinese smile when they talk about unpleasant matters which is very confusing to an American), how to make a date (Arabs may not specify the time which makes it no date for an American), etc. The major point is that one system is not necessarily better than another, but that they are different and one must know them. This kind of thinking permeates English language teaching in the United States. It is then with amazement I read *Flerkulturell kompetens,* (Bicultural competence) Papers in Anthropological Linguistics, 7, (1980) and find not one reference to Hymes and communicative competence. I think it is especially important that the *Swedish* school children at the higher levels also be exposed to an understanding of communicative competence.

I would like to conclude this section with two points. Contrary to much Swedish thinking, it is perfectly possible to keep aspects of the original culture and a symbolic sense of ethnic identity even after language shift to Swedish. As I write this, the Ukranians in Pittsburgh are celebrating

the 100 year anniversary of their coming here with a four day festival, of "music and dance, arts and crafts, with lectures and religious services" (Pittsburgh Post Gazette, 1982:9), all in English. The Ukranians are also fully integrated members of the Pittsburgh community and would presumably fit poorly into today's Ukrania. It is a moot point how bicultural they really are.

And that brings me to the second point. I have discussed elsewhere the issues involved in biculturalism (1978b) and would like to repeat the gist here. There are various aspects of biculturalism: cognition, feelings, and behavior. In matters of cognition and behavior, one can perfectly well be bicultural and it is quite necessary for the immigrants. But deeper levels of affection, as re-orientation and identification, are very often mutually exclusive, and at these levels I don't believe it is possible to be bicultural. The previous example of the Turkish girls will serve here: they are going to have to choose between traditional Turkish values or modern Swedish values but they cannot embrace both simultaneously, since they are mutually exclusive, and the girls are going to behave accordingly. The choice may not be very voluntary. Such choices, necessitated by conflict of cultural values, are of course the source of much of the trauma immigrants face. It is not helpful to glibly speak of biculturalism as if it were a perfectly obtainable objective and then blaming the immigrants for not achieving it.

Functional biculturalism can only be learned from contact with native Swedes. The children find such contact in the schools[18], but it is a real question how much contact with Swedes adult immigrants have.

Swedish Xenophobia

I have long observed in the streets of Stockholm a rudeness of behavior towards immigrants that would be unthinkable in the United States where of course most are of immigrant stock. Yesterday a student handed me a clipping from the Pittsburgh Press with the headline "Violence Against Immigrants Disrupts Sweden's Tranquility" (1982:4). In short, there seem to be a very deep seated dislike of foreigners in Sweden which my Swedish friends and colleagues tend to ignore. I expected the research to do similarly but I was wrong. Johnson and Lahdenperä (n.d.), Hedman (1978), Takač (1978), Mennon and Firth (1982), Trankell (1974, 1981), Westin (1981) and others do document and seriously consider this Swedish xenophobia, which may be primarily a working class phenomenon. Because of the seriousness and intractability of this dis-

18. The need for such contact from a cultural perspective is the strongest argument against monolingual L_1 classes. As usual, what looks like a language issue is in fact cultural and social.

like, the social institutions take on great importance in the fraternalization process. The institutions of army, church, law, and recreation seem to be of little help. School, marriage, and probaly work seem to be the most important. Discrimination of work is claimed but not really documented in my sources except for the fact that good Swedish is necessary for good jobs (Liljegren 1981, 1982) and with a neglect of Swedish, an institutional discrimination follows *ipso facto*. The ethnic groups themselves, especially the muslim, orthodox, and marionite, are likely to fight a holding action against exogamy. This leaves the Swedish schools as the major formal social institution for ethnic incorporation into Swedish culture. The various languages are there and a very obvious and immediate problem, but the real problem lies with the foreign cultures and their bearers. Swedish intolerance of such bearers is the most serious problem and the bottom of the iceberg, not seen or openly expressed but giving shape to much that happens. There is no positive segregation.

Medium of instruction

The customary key issue in discussions about bilingual education concerns medium of instruction. In the United States[19], it has become a fairly accepted policy, where there are large groups of children who do not speak English, like the Chicanos, the Navajos, the Cuban, the Puerto Rican, to teach them in bilingual programs. In these programs both languages (mother tongue and English) are studied in language arts classes and subject matter classes are taught in both languages, like mathematics or history in Spanish. Here the key issue is whether such programs are transitional or maintenance. The objective of transitional programs is to mainstream the children into regular English medium classes, usually into third grade after three years in a bilingual program (K-2). The rationale for bilingual programs are that they are more efficient in teaching English although there is not much hard data to support such a view; it has however been the standard argument. All legislation specifies transitional programs, but as the programs are run by members of the ethnic groups, they often favor so called maintenance programs, the objectives of which are to foster and maintain the ethnic pride, culture and language of the children. With present Swedish legislation, Swedish programs would all be maintenance in nature. In Canada, the transitional/maintenance dichotomy is immaterial as the programs are for the middleclass English children whose objectives are to become fluent in French. The Canadians believe, with justification, that fluent profi-

19. States are autonomous over their educational systems so one cannot always generalize about U.S. education. Especially bilingual education legislation varies from state to state.

ciency in the target language only occurs when that language is used as a medium of instruction.

In Sweden today it seems an accepted fact that all children have a right to home language instruction. As Liljegren's data attest to, this may be only one of their mother tongues, and at that not their dominant one. (The Assyrian children I saw were by far dominant in Swedish and could not even count in their so called mother tongue.) Rather, here the key issue seems to be choice of combined or home language class. There are no studies of an experimental type design completed which can give any definitive data on this matter, and until the SPRINS project (Enström et al. 1981; Tingbjörn and Andersson, 1981) and Horst Löfgren's project (Ericsson and Löfgren, 1981) are finished we will have to scramble for data.

I will stick to the linguistic data, but I would like to emphasize once more that choice of combined or monolingual L_1 classes are not language issues, but socio-political matters of considerable importance for Sweden's equilibrium.

If we look at Leppänen and Ala-Panula's study of Finnish children in a Finnish medium nursery school and Swedish medium nursery school, we find that these children "spend the largest part of their day in the nursery school" (1980:45). Not surprisingly, "the linguistic input the children receive at home is not sufficient to result in a well developed language." (45) The children spoke the "official" language of the program without hesitation but with some mixing of languages. The Finnish did not correspond to the same level as similar children in Finland. There was no difference between the groups in "dominance, helplessness, initiative, sense of security, and antisocial activity" (45). The findings about Finnish are replicated in many studies: children brought up in another country, especially if working class, will not have as well-developed[20] a language as their age cohorts in the home country. It is primarily a matter of language input: children learn the language they hear meaningfully spoken around them, no matter what language the parents spoke natively. If the children don't hear the language, they don't learn it. The data on social attitudes are often contradicted in the literature, especially by Göte Hanson (1980, 1981) and his often referred to Södertälje project. I have, however, seen no data of Hanson's and at an attempt to visit the program, I was told that it was no longer in operation. I think as scientific evidence for mother tongue classes, Hanson's claims will have to be ignored (see also Henrysson, 1981). As data for the personal involvement of Swedish researchers, they serve excellently. Clearly children can feel

20. Well-developed language is a rather tricky concept; in these studies it is usually operationalized as doing well on test results.

secure in another language, as the immersion data attest to. Children feel insecure for social reasons, not linguistic ones, but of course there are times when a different language contributes to an already existing sense of insecurity.

Jacobsson and Nikkanen's (1976) study of two Finnish "beginning classes" support the findings of the nursery school study. The children's language proficiency improved during the year although still below the Finnish norms.

Löfgren and Ouvinen-Birgerstam's eight year long project entitled *Modeller för tvåspråkig undervisning av invandrarbarn* (Models for bilingual education of immigrant children) strikes me as the most solid – and common sense – long-range evaluation research on bilingual education in Sweden. Basically it was a typical transition program, except that half of the children were Swedish. They had language arts in Swedish with the Swedish children (they had studied Swedish as a foreign language (Sfs) in a two year K program), parallel classes separated in Finnish and Swedish and some other subjects, combined classes in mathematics and other subjects in Swedish. Their main findings: the program increased the Finnish children's possibilities for functional bilingualism; school achievement was independent of mother tongue; social surroundings and background and intellectual abilities were more important for school achievement than were purely linguistic factors; proficiency in Swedish is not a direct result of their proficiency in Finnish; mother tongue training has not influenced their proficiency in Swedish negatively. I would like to cite their last paragraph because it makes such very splendid sense:

"The positive results obtained by the project's bilingual teaching model has led us to support the researchers who advocate teaching in the mother tongue in preschool and compulsory school. However, we wish to dissociate ourselves from those arguments, for teaching in the mother tongue, which attempt to frighten parents into choosing mother tongue-teaching by threatening emotional and intellectual under-development in those children who do not receive mother tongue-teaching.

Teaching in the mother tongue does not seem to have the magical effect on the children's development, for good or ill, which it has sometimes been ascribed. Rather, we consider mother tongue-teaching to be a human right. A child should not need to be cut off from his cultural inheritence, nor feel estranged from his cultural group or family. Furthermore, bilingual teaching doesn't seem to have a negative effect on other skills. Therefore, why should children be monolingual when they obviously are capable of being bilingual?" (1980:103)

Some of Toukomaa's claims from the Finnish studies seem to contradict Löfgren and Ouvinen-Birgerstam's findings. Presumably the differ-

ence is due to a difference in research design and research methodology and someone with more expertise in testing than mine should investigate the matter. Ouvinen–Birgerstam and Wigforss' critique *A critical study of Toukomaa's investigation of the bilingual development of Finnish immigrant children in Sweden* (1978) point out the many problems with the instruments and their validity. In addition one can question using the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities, basically an intelligence test as a language proficiency test; one simply does not know what the tests are measuring (Alison d'Anglejean, private communication).

These objections apart, one would expect children in Finnish medium classes to do better in Finnish than those in Swedish medium classes. We again see that they do less well than those in Finland (Lasonen and Toukomaa, 1978). Toukomaa and Skutnabb-Kangas find that even in linguistically homogenous groups, the children's mother tongue does not develop if the teacher does not speak their language (1977), a finding which corresponds with Leppänen and Ala-Panula's (1980) finding that the children speak the "official" language. Kuusinen, Lasonen, and Särkelä (1977) found that the Finnish students in the Finnish medium classes did better in the test on Finnish except for oral skills. Again, the Finnish group in Finland did better. The knowledge of Swedish was better among pupils in Swedish medium classes. There was no difference in school motivation and school adjustment between the pupils of Finnish and those of Swedish classes. There may be some doubts about the testing instruments, but the results make sense all the same. Children tend to learn what you teach them.

Finally, Fägerlind's (1981) and Beebe and Fägerlind's (1978) evaluation of medium of instruction, English and Finnish, again underline how important sufficient language proficiency is for successful school achievement at the gymnasium level. The Skanstull Finnish medium gymnasium is primarily for recent immigrants (3 years or less), one third of whom have never gone to a Swedish school. About half of the students would not have applied to a Swedish medium gymnasium if the Finnish had not been offered.

The conclusions are fairly obvious. If you want students to maintain their home language at a level of proficiency as close as possible to national norms, but at a cost to Swedish, then home language classes is the choice. If you want Swedish proficiency, but at a probably increasing loss in home language proficiency, the ordinary Swedish classes is the choice[21]. Finally if you want bilingual students, combined classes is the choice. There really are no contradictory data to these conclusions. It

21. With auxiliary teaching in Swedish

should be mentioned, though, that *bilingual* covers a multitude of degrees of proficiencies and that a perfect, balanced, active bilingualism probably does not exist. Even the interpreters and translators at UNESCO, who are the most perfect bilinguals I know, only translate into one language. But the schools can provide basic language skills of reading and writing in a standard form of the language (most of the immigrants probably speak a non-standard form of their language, but that is another problem wich need not concern us here) which will make possible a future freedom of choice for individual students to continue to learn and develop their language proficiency for those who are so interested.

Third language research

Lindblad and Lindblad (1981) find that third language study (English) causes no general problems for the immigrant students with the exception of an occasional individual. There seems to be status attached to English study. "Immigrant pupils seem to manage English just fine, with the limitation that those who have trouble with Swedish also have trouble with English" (p. 44). They go on to discuss optimum medium of instruction for English, whether it should be taught via Swedish or via the mother tongue. There are opinions but no data. A third possiblity, to teach English via English, i. e. the direct method, is not mentioned.

Linguistic research

There is considerable research done in straight linguistics, like contrastive analysis, error analysis, typologies etc. The various projects done as part of the SPRINS project at the University of Gothenburg especially deserves mention. Such research is very useful for developing curricula and grammars and textbooks but is understandably less helpful for an understanding of language problems at a social level. I have therefore chosen not to discuss this body of literature here.

I would like to make two points, both about work *not* done. I find the neglect of Swedish as a foreign language (Sfs) quite unaccountable[22]. It is perfectly clear from Liljegren's data and from a number of studies that a good proficiency in Swedish is necessary for the possibility of upward social mobility, for school success, for access to good jobs, yet Sfs is neglected in funding, in teacher training, in general attention. For successful adjustment in Sweden, it is the most important subject for the immigrant students, yet they get saddled with castoff teachers who lack

22. This is not to say that individual linguists like K. Hyltenstam, G. Tingbjörn, T. von Elek are not interested. I am talking about an institutional level.

training and inclination. I would urge NBE and appropriate officials to make a major effort on behalf of improvement in teaching Sfs.

I also find a lack of interest in language teaching methodology and teacher training, but that may merely be due to the fact that it does not surface in the research studies. Only one study dealt with teacher training and that at the kindergarten level (Lundberg, 1980). The study makes clear the great number of problems which face teacher trainers and the lack of attention given to them.

These points may not belong under Linguistics as a heading, but in the United States they are the interests of linguists and are done by linguists. There certainly are linguists in Sweden that also are interested.

Conclusions

In the preceding discussion, I have attempted as objective a presentation of the facts and implications of the Swedish research on bilingual education as I have been able to without sacrificing critical judgment. I recognize the possible objection that I have not discussed any of the research within the field of linguistics and psycholinguistics, like language acquisition of morphemes, reaction times of bilinguals, structural characteristics of the various languages, etc. I have ignored these studies, because in my judgment they do not help answer the key questions, phrased variously but well recognized:

"But yet there are no research results in the immigration countries which indicate whether the establishment of (migrant) national schools supports or hinders the children's long range possibilities to find jobs or social conditions which are equal to those of other children."
(Widgren, 1981: 11)

or more tersely

"How do you achieve a society where each individual has social equality with maintained cultural freedom of choice and identity" (NBE, 1979: 107).

Given these facts:

1. The immigrant children do as well in school as the Swedish children[23] (Liljegren, 1981, 1982; Petersen, n. d., Wennerström, 1967).
2. The immigrant children demonstrate a strong tendency to shift to Swedish.

23. Presumably the gymnasium statistics indicate that the immigrant children show higher upward social mobility than do the Swedish children since the figures for Swedish children include all social classes while the immigrant children are mostly working class.

3. The Swedish population shows strong xenophobic inclinations. Svenska Dagbladet (1980) reports that parents in Botkyrka have requested monolingual Swedish classes, i.e. without any immigrant children. When I asked the Assyrian teacher in Södertälje whether his students (in a mother tongue class speaking primarily Swedish) at least had physical education and music with the Swedish children, he told me that they used to, but the Swedish parents had complained to the headmaster that the Assyrian children were too 'rowdy' so they stopped that. (Fieldnotes, March 1982).
4. Immigrant children's special teachers tend to be untrained in mother tongue teaching as well as in Swedish as a foreign language. Tingbjörn refers to "the absence of regularized teacher education" (Tingbjörn, 1981: 13) as one of remarkable lags, as well he might. I have not studied the quality of mother tongue education but I do know that every one of the nine Turkish teachers in a school I visited chose to put their own children in regular Swedish classes.
5. Many if not most proponents for mother tongue teaching have a vested interest in the maintained lack of assimilation of migrant children. This fact does not automatically invalidate the opinions of this group, but their lack of objectivity is marked, and their advice vis à vis educational language policy needs to be considered *cum grano salis*. They will strenuously object to this point and instead point out that no one is as familiar with the problems of migrant children as they are. This point is also true and needs to be considered.
6. Semilingualism does not exist, or put in a way which is non-refutable, has never been empirically demonstrated.

It seems that common sense alone would come to the following conclusion.

Any decent interpretation of freedom of choice must support the children in their voluntary assimilation with combined classes, which they themselves find important (Petersen, n.d.: 4), strong auxiliary teaching (Jelonek, 1975), and a strong support of Swedish as a foreign language (Sfs). The demands for mother tounge classes almost invariably come from parents, parents' groups and immigrant organisations but not from the children (with the exceptions of older arrivals who do not have the alternative option of adequate Sfs training). Mother tongue classes are partly an excuse, a mechanism for segregation, which happens to coincide with Finnish national demands, and therefore meets within Finnish support. Mother tongue instruction is nice and makes possible a recognition of the values of the old country. As a linguist, I am very much in favour of it and recognize Swedish educational policy of mother tongue instruction as a very handsome gesture of the Swedish government. It is also a very expensive policy (about 230 million Sw crowns in

governmental grant, 1983/84) and in the Swedish case, only indispensible for linguistic minority groups with a record of back migration. The administrative scheduling of mother tongue classes is abysmal and counterproductive and deserves attention. Adequate teacher training is a must, not just for new teachers but for the existing teacher corps.

I would like to close this report with a final observation. To American eyes, the tolerance of Swedish officials towards all these languages (some 150) is astounding. One of the many people I interviewed commented: "In the beginning the officials were duped into a mother tongue policy–then the bureaucracy took over" (Fieldnotes, March, 1982). That is probably an accurate interpretation, and my suspicion, undocumented and unresearched, is that the press helped in this duping with the best of liberal intentions. Officials, like NBE, may be tolerant but they also see the danger: "How can one encourage cultural freedom of choice whithout society splitting into numerous groups, all of which compete with each other?" (National Board of Education, 1979: 107). That question expresses one of the very rare concerns for what is best for Sweden, not for individuals or ethnic groups, but for the country, also a legitimate question. It seems to me that the migrant children themselves have answered that question. By being allowed to assimilate and incorporate, they will with time become good Swedes, and Sweden herself will be infinitely the richer for enhanced cultural ties to the rest of Europe.

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Appendix

List of current Swedish reports, articles etc on bilingual education which have been gathered and sent to the author. However the list is not complete since some researchers have preferred to send material directly to Christina Bratt Paulston. She also has collected material herself through the years.
Material marked with an asterisk has been used as a source for the report and can also be found in the Bibliography.

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